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585 On the day fixed for the *ákit*, the relatives of the girl come together
263 at the latter's house, where a large amount of native sweets has been prepared for the purpose. These sweets are of different kinds:

The *sinandilá: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked with coconut oil, coconut milk and salt or sugar, in a shape like that of our ordinary pancakes;

The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát*, as explained previously;

The *linaxókog: dékat* rice pounded into powder, salted and cooked in lard, with neither sugar nor coconut products added to it; these cakes have more or less the form of our doughnuts, except that they are very flat; their diameter is usually from two to three inches, and there is a round hole in the center;

The *pinatará-: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked, after which it is cut into strips; in the meanwhile coconut milk is cooked in some other receptacle, and when the latter is boiling, first salt and then the *dékat* strips are added to it. The *pinatará-* take all kinds of shapes, but in general they are long and narrow, and look more or less like sections of a candle.

585 When everything is ready, the women take charge of the baskets
583 (*la-bá*) full of cakes, and one or more men carry a pig, which is called the *bálat* (revenge, taking turns, etc.) on this occasion. All these are so-called presents that will be distributed to the relatives of the groom by those of the bride. Then the whole procession, in which the *mañlakkát* plays the most conspicuous rôle, proceeds on its way to the boy's house; this may be done in the daytime as well as in the evening: no special time is set for the ceremony. It should be noted once for all that, if the groom is a married man and has a house of his own, all ceremonies connected with the *ákit* and the ensuing *lablabág* are conducted at his own house, and not at that of his parents.

585 And now as to the *mañlakkát*. This is always a young girl as yet
292 unmarried, and she is not allowed to wear any other body garment but the tapis or *akén*, and probably the *talút* or G-string, which after all remains invisible. A *sarikaw* hat, like the one worn by a woman after her delivery when she goes to take her first bath, completes her attire. Out of modesty, however, the *mañlakkát* does not wear her tapis in the customary way, that is, from the waist down, but she passes it over her breasts, so that the latter are covered, with the obvious result that her thighs are partially uncovered, as the lower end of the tapis barely reaches half-way down between the buttocks

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[586] 585 then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so very uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

[836] Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, jus primae noctis, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *ákit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banít:* the girl's parents are those who *mamanít*, they *banítan* the *tádug*.

585 263 One or two days later a certain quantity of sweets is again prepared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called *lablabág;* but the *pinatará-* variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

[805] 585 On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights, not by days) after the *ákit*, the young couple *maglablabág:* they first go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the afternoon; otherwise they start in the morning. The members of their 585 escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are 262 then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.,—are called *talinabáw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *ákit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabáw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

585 The next day, four nights after the *ákit*, the husband goes to live (*maggiyán*) with his young wife at the latter's house, and stays there as long as has been determined at the *amómán*, after which he takes his wife home to his parents' house, where the woman stays (*maggiyán*) from now on. In case the groom does not stay at the house

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fruits (*bísi-*), male flowers (*bu-gá-*), and young shoots (*rańáw*) are used for vegetables.

The *tabuńáw* (Lagenaria leucantha [Lam.] Rusby), bottle gourd, especially the Hercules'-club. Its fruits (*bísi-*) and young shoots (*rańáw*) are used for vegetables. Several varieties of bottle gourd are cultivated by the Isneg:

The *kandól*, dipper gourd.

The *bakóba-*, calabash. Universally used for storing rice.

The *lupíáy*: A kind of huge calabash.

The *tabáyad*: A kind of small white calabash. Sometimes used for storing rice.

The *busińán*: A kind of very small calabash. Universally used for storing lime.

The *bakuwáw*. Its young shoots are glabrous.

The *kabatíti* (Luffa cylindrica, Roem.). Its fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables. The variety with ribbed fruits is called *balídan*.

The *pariyá* (Momordica charantia, L.). Its fruits and young shoots are used for vegetables.

The *tańkúy* (Benincasa hispida [Thunb.] Cogn.). Its fruits are used for vegetables.

The *kasímun* (Cucumis sativus, L.), cucumber.

The *túpa-* (Citrullus vulgaris [L.] Schrad.), watermelon.

The *kamáit* or *amákis* (from the Spanish *tomates*), (Lycopersicum esculentum, Mill.), tomato. The variety with small globose fruits.

The *tarón* (Solanum melongena, L.), eggplant.

The *amsí* (Solanum nigrum, L.), nightshade. Its young leaves are used for vegetables.

The *síli*, a general name for the following plants:

The *to-rán* (Capsicum frutescens, L.), chile or spur pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) are used for vegetables, and its small fruits for condiments.

The *amílíi*, a variety of the preceding, with somewhat larger fruits.

The *zappó-* (Capsicum annuum, L.), green pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) and fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables.

The *kambóń*, perhaps Solanum crassipetalum, Wall. Its large fruits are used for vegetables.

The *salúyut* or *salúyaw* (Corchorus olitorius, L.), jute or Jews' mallow. Its leaves are used for vegetables.

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241 The *laṅṅá* (Sesamum orientale, L.), sesame or benne. Cultivated 824 for its seeds (*bokál*).

262 The *aglây* (Coix lachryma-jobi, L.), Job's-tears. A variety with edible young capsules that are much elongated.

The *naṅná*, *bannuwáṅ* or *sábug* (Setaria italica, Beauv.), Italian millet. It is considered as good luck to find seeds (*bokál*) with two or three (instead of one) eyes or hila.

The *baxindt* (Andropogon sorghum [L.] Brot.), sorghum.

The *kumâyo* (Manihot utilissima, Pohl.), cassava, manioc or tapioca plant.

The *lampákan*, a plant resembling the taro. Its branchy rhizome is edible.

The *baxáṅ*, probably Tacca sp. Cultivated for its edible roots.

The *basáṅ* (Zingiber officinale, Rosc.), ginger.

The *sagó* (Maranta arundinacea, L.), arrowroot.

The *lasoná* (Allium cepa, L.), onion.

[263] The *báwaṅ* (Allium sativum, L.), garlic.

[283] The *piniyá* or *apiniyá* (from the Spanish *piña*), (Ananassa sativa, Lindl.), pineapple. The fibres of its leaves are used for strings. Its suckers (one on top, several at the base) are called *piṅpíṅ*.

IV. The Tobacco Field

247 Gardens and tobacco (*tabáko*, from the Spanish *tabaco*) fields (*bakáṅ*) are both prepared from old rice fields, but, in the case of the *bakáṅ*, the level parts are usually preferred; and so the term *maxónut* for "clearing a level plot of ground" is also the common term for "clearing the *bakáṅ*".

The term *magkípug* for "weeding" has exactly the same meaning here as when it is used in connection with the *kadánan* (garden). It is customary, however, to remove as much as possible all trees and stumps of trees that were left in the field, when former crops were raised: this work is called *magkusáp*. Felling trees for timber is *magkallán*.

The biggest difference between a *kadánan* (garden) and a tobacco field is the absence of a regular fence around the latter. Its only protection against the inroads of animals is the *dal-át* or heap of rubbish, that consists mostly of weeds and canes proceeding from the surrounding grounds and piled up all around. The same contrivance is occasionally resorted to in the case of fields planted with Indian

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245 The *santól* or *santór* (Sandoricum koetjape [Burm.f.] Merr.), sandal 824 tree. Fruit globose, yellowish; pericarp thick; seeds large, surrounded by a soft, translucent or pale, edible, acid pulp.

The *piyát* (Averrhoa bilimbi, L.). Its acid fruit is edible and much used for condiments.

The *ulílib*, growing wild and occasionally cultivated: A large tree, whose edible fruits, when ripe, consist in a yellow drupe, the size of a small tomato (globose variety), and contain two stones.

The Isneg have several ways of gathering fruits from a tree. Whenever possible of course they simply pick them from below; otherwise they either climb the tree or shake it (*xoyyowán* or *yagyaggán*). Sometimes they use a *raxúd*, a stick or bamboo provided with a hook, whether natural or artificial, in order to detach the fruits (*magdo-dó-*) and cause them to drop down. Finally they get some fruits by throwing a stick through the crown of a tree.

Fruits are gathered in the same way, whether one or more are picked (*magpanndí*) for present use, or all of them are harvested at once (*magdakná-*).

A fruit that has been overlooked and is left on the tree is called a *kátat*.

VI. Other Plants

Here follows a list of trees, shrubs and herbs that are cultivated by the Isneg and have been omitted in the preceding treatment of the garden and the orchard. Most of them are planted somewhere at the outskirts of the village or around the house yard, like the coco palm and other fruit trees; but I thought it better to treat them separately, because, either they are not trees at all, or else they could hardly be counted as fruit trees in the strict sense of the word. Some of the herbs are found occasionally in the *kadánan* (garden), but this is rather exceptional.

Cultivated for culinary purposes

241 The *marońday* (Moringa oleifera, Lam.), horse-radish tree. Its 824 leaves and fruits are used for vegetables.

262 The *katúday* or *kasúday* (Sesbania grandiflora [L.] Pers.). Flowers and pods are used for vegetables.

[263] The *salamági* (Tamarindus indica, L.), tamarind. Its pods are used for condiments.

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The *tôsi*, *katôsit* or *antôsit* (Bixa orellana, L.), achiote or annatto tree. The seeds are used for condiments.

The *kapé* (from the Spanish *café*), coffee. The plants known in commerce as *robusta* are much more frequently cultivated in Apayaw than the *arabica*: this points to a comparatively recent introduction.

The *kakáw* (from the Spanish *cacao*), (Theobroma cacoa, L.), cacao or chocolate tree.

Palms and bamboos

The *bowá* (Arecga catechu, L.), betel palm or areca palm.

The *lítag*, wild betel palm, occasionally cultivated.

The *alimmuxâyān*, a variety of betel palm with very small nuts.

The *lańpá* or *labíd* (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.), a kind of fan palm whose leaves are used for raincoats, thatch, etc. Its fruits are called *kulébań* or *kulalbáń*.

The *kawâyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *pasíńan*: A kind of spiny bamboo whose walls are lined with a membrane. It is used in basketwork, in the building of huts, in traps for catching wild boars, etc.

The *pa-lí*: A kind of slender spiny bamboo, mostly used in basketwork.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo. Occasionally cultivated.

Cultivated for their perfume

The *alańízān* (Canangium odoratum [Lam.] Baill.), ylang-ylang.

The *bańńáw*: A shrub with round brown fruits. Its leaves are used for perfume.

The *sapitân* (Andropogon citratus, DC.), lemon grass. Sometimes planted in the *kómān* (rice field).

Cultivated for ornamental purposes

The *sarawénes* or *barawénes* (not genuine Isneg), (Delonix regia [Boj.] Ral.), peacock flower, flame tree or flamboyant.

The *lâyańâ* or *âyańá* (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, L.), China rose or shoeblack plant.

The *malmalókoń* (Northopanax cochleatum [Lam.] Miq.), saucer-leaf.

The *dummariyá* (from the Spanish *Doña María*, "Lady Mary"),

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412